5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience.

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions.

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] [193] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 577 *Morality.* Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

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sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
• [196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602]
[608] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considerations of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
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157
828 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157
828 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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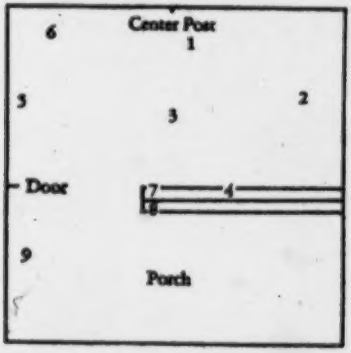
342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation.

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal*, is derived from the word for day, *k'al*. Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?if*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

[P. 211-A]